

# Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
<i>Author's Note</i>	xix
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xxi
 <i>Prologue: The U.S. and Japan's Complicity of Denial of War Responsibilities</i>	 xxv
1 <i>Japan's "War Apologies" vis-à-vis the "Acceptance of Apologies" by the U.S.</i>	xxvii
2 <i>Japan's War Crimes and the Treatment of War Criminal Suspects by the U.S.</i>	xxxiv
3 <i>The Aim of this Book</i>	xl
4 <i>Conclusion</i>	xlvi

## **PART I Fire Bombing and Atomic Bombing**

1 Indiscriminate Firebombing by the U.S. Forces and the Air Defense System of Japan's Emperor-Fascism State	3
1 Japan's Air Defense Law and the Air Defense System	5
2 Air Defense and Air Raid Shelters During the Pacific War	10

3	Protecting the Royal Portrait and Building His Majesty's Library	14
4	The Great Tokyo Air Raid and Reinforcement of the Fukiage Bunker	18
5	Indiscriminate Firebombing of Japan's Main Islands by the U.S.	25
6	Atomic Bombing as a Continuation of Conventional Bombing	37
7	Entangled Responsibilities of Perpetrators and Victims	40
2	Mystification of the Atomic Bombing—Tacit Complicity Between the U.S. and Japan	51
1	The Hidden Political Aim of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Potsdam Conference	54
2	The Atomic Bombing and the U.S.–Japan Negotiation Over the Retention of the Emperor System	62
3	How Closely Were the Retention of <i>Kokutai</i> and the Effects of Atomic Bombing Interrelated?	76
4	Political Exploitation of the Atomic Bombing: the U.S. Justification of the Genocidal Attack and Japan's Excuse for Ending the War	84
5	Concealment of the Responsibility of the Atomic Bombing and Japan's Deformed Postwar Democracy	92
3	The Atomic Bombing, the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal and the Shimoda Case	101
1	Okamoto's Struggle for Justice for the Victims of the Atomic Bombings	105
2	Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombings	110
3	The Argument of the Plaintiffs	112
4	The Argument of the Government	114
5	The Final Judgment	118
6	Nuclear Weapons, Crimes Against Humanity and Crimes Against Peace	121

## PART II The Peace Constitution and the Emperor System

4	The Insoluble Contradiction Embedded in the Peace Constitution—The Preamble and Article 9 versus Chapter 1	129
1	Establishment of Chapters 1 and 2 of the Constitution for the Purpose of Acquitting Hirohito of War Crimes and War Responsibility	130
2	A Loophole in Article 9 “Renunciation of War and Demilitarization of Japan”	142
3	The Interrelationship Between the Preamble and Article 9 of the Constitution	148
4	The Sovereign State System Versus the Universality of Article 9	153
5	Toward Utilization of Article 9 As the Civil Right of Resistance and the Establishment of Democratic Spirit	159
5	Veiled Political Power of the Emperor as the Symbol of Japan	171
1	Article 1 of the New Constitution as the Succession of <i>Kokutai</i> : Emperor’s Religious Authority and Inhumane “Symbol”	172
2	The Political Role of Symbolic Authority: Historical Background	179
3	The Post-war Exploitation of the Power of Symbolic Authority: Creation of the Collective National Sense of War Victims	184
4	The Contemporary Exploitation of the Power of Symbolic Authority: Its Role of Concealing Socio-Political Problems and War Responsibility	193
6	Challenging the Emperor’s Power of Symbolic Authority—Struggles to Humanize the Emperor	207
1	The “Food May Day” Placard Incident	208
2	An Open Letter to Hirohito from the Students of Kyoto University	210
3	“Yamazaki, Shoot Emperor Hirohito!” Okuzaki Kenzō’s Legal Action to Abolish Chapter 1 of Japan’s Constitution	217
	Okuzaki’s Personal Background Prior to the New Guinea Campaign	218

Historical Background of the New Guinea Campaign	219
Okuzaki's Desperate Struggle for Survival in New Guinea	221
The Postwar Life of Okuzaki	224
Development of Okuzaki's Ideas on Japanese Society and the Emperor System While in Prison	225
Okuzaki's Solitary Battle Against Hirohito and the Emperor System	227
Okuzaki's Court Battle Against Hirohito	228
Okuzaki's Denunciation of Article 1 of the Constitution of Japan Defining the Position of the Emperor	233
Who is Responsible for Creating an Eccentric Person like Okuzaki?	235

### Part III Memories and Symbolism of War

7	The U.S.–Japan Collaboration in Remembering War Atrocities—in Comparison with the German Case	245
1	Memories of Indiscriminate Killing: How to Make Them a Universal Message for Humanity	246
2	U.S. President Obama's Visit to Hiroshima: a Critical Analysis Through the Eyes of Hannah Arendt	249
3	A Critical Examination of Memorializing the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima by the Japanese	257
4	German History of "Mastering the Past" ( <i>Vergangenheitsbewältigung</i> ): 1945–1985	267
5	German History from Communicative Memory to Cultural Memory	273
8	Photographer Fukushima Kikujirō—Confronting Images of Atomic Bomb Survivors	287
1	Kikujirō's Lucky Escape from the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima	290
2	Kikujirō's Life During the Asia-Pacific War	293
3	Photographing War Orphans and Widows	295
4	Encountering Atomic Bomb Survivors	297
5	Recording Sugimatsu's Agony and the Travails of the Nakamura Family	301

6	Kikujirō as a Professional Photographer	306
7	Conclusion	309
9	Memories and Symbolism: For Establishing Japan's Culture of Remembrance	319
1	Sharing Pain Generates Hope for the Future: The Life of Numata Suzuko	321
	History of Korean Atomic Bomb Survivors and Their Struggle for Justice	321
	Toyonaga Keizaburō and His Contribution to the Movement to Support Korean Atomic Bomb Survivors	324
	Numata Suzuko's Background and Ordeal as an Atomic Bomb Survivor	326
	Numata Suzuko's "Reformulation of Life by Reconstituting Her Existence"	329
	Extending Her Moral Imagination to Universal Humanity	334
2	Establishing the Japanese Forms of Cultural Memories of War	337
	Utilization of Visual Artwork	337
	Performing Art: The Traditional Japanese Noh Theatre	343
	Modern Noh Performance	347
	Epilogue: The Nature of Japan's Postwar Democracy and Its Future	359
1	The Emperor Ideology and the Feeble Democratic Idea of Postwar Japan	359
2	Historical Background to Japan's Lack of the Concept of Human Rights	364
3	Three Contradictory Principles of Regulating Postwar Japan	368
4	The Balance of the Three Different Principles is Collapsing	372
	<i>Index</i>	372